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ABSTRACT

The newsletter of this national organization presents commentary on the foreign policy relationship between the United States and China and cites relevant current information. In the summer, 1971 issue introductory comments on the Taiwan policy dilemma appear, as well as announcements of study programs, conferences or symposia, and field staff activities. A main section, China in the News, summarizes current news items based largely on New York Times, Washington Post, and Far Eastern Economic Review Sources. Proposals of Senators and private organizations for alternatives and change in United States policy toward China are outlined in the article "China Policy--Which Direction?". Topics covered in the various proposals include United Nations membership, the Taiwan question, as well as travel and trade policies. In addition, specific texts of U.N. Draft Resolutions are given. The newsletter provides an annotated bibliography on China Resources, citing book and magazine materials, forthcoming television programs, and interview tapes available from the Committee. Those interested in receiving the newsletter regularly should request that their name be placed on the mailing list. (Author/JSB)

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U.S. China Relations

NOTES from the National Committee

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Volume 1, No. 3 Summer 1971

TAIWAN AND AMERICAN POLICY

The April visit of U.S. table tennis players and newsmen to China, and the further relaxation of American restrictions on travel and trade with the People's Republic, seem to suggest a new era in U.S.-China relations. Yet the basic policy dilemma--Taiwan, and U.S. relations with the Republic of China government--remains unresolved.

In March, the National Committee and the League of Women Voters Education Fund co-sponsored a conference on "The Taiwan Factor in America's China Policy", not to formulate recommendations but to have the issues aired by specialists. Among the thirty participants were Profs. Jerome Cohen, Edward Friedman, Harold Hinton, Richard Moorsteen and Allen Whiting, who presented papers. Discussion focused largely on U.S. political interests in Taiwan, and their relationship to tensions within Asia and within Taiwan itself. Most participants augued that the U.S. had only marginal economic and military interests in Taiwan, and should remove its military forces; however, there was considerable disagreement about abrogating the defense treaty with Taipei, and about Peking's probable response to various forms of U.S. disengagement. Opinion ranged from a view that the U.S. had no legitimate role, moral or political, in the Peking-Taipei conflict, to a judgement that U.S. disengagement could incline Japan to become a nuclear power, heightening the very military tensions the U.S. sought to avoid. The various policy proposals differed largely in terms of the sequence and timing, rather than the substance, of future U.S. actions--particularly whether U.S. support for Taiwan's U.N. position must end before improved relations with Peking are possible.

The papers and proceedings will be published in early Fall by Praeger under the tentative title""Taiwan and American Policy: The Dilemma in U.S.-China Relations".

* * *

FALL PROGRAMS

Several public symposia are being planned in cooperation with other organizations.

. . . with The Fund For Peace, a major convocation on "The U.S. and China: The Challenge of Building Peace", *New York*, Oct. 29.

. . . with the *Pittsburgh* World Affairs Council and the University of Pittsburgh, programs Oct. 19, on U.S.-China trade, and Oct. 20, on America's and China's roles in Asia. A simulated U.N. session for high school students will follow the Oct. 20 meeting.

. . . at the *Minnesota* World Affairs Center, a symposium on Nov. 4 dealing with U.S.-Chinese relations in Asia and China's representation in the U.N.

. . . in *Washington D.C.*, a symposium for newspaper editors and journalists on Oct. 18.

FIELD STAFFS

The *University of Michigan F.S.* is completing a national Directory of Asian Studies in Secondary Education, to be published in the Fall. The Directory lists schools teaching Asian studies (including course titles) and provides a guide to curriculum-development projects.

The *Colorado F.S.* of the National Committee was recently established in Denver with Prof. Dan Lovelace of Temple Buell College as the coordinator. Plans are underway for a field staff program at *Princeton*.

china in the news

The following news summaries are based largely on information in the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Far Eastern Economic Review.

* U.S.-China relations have been prominent in the news following the April visit to China by members of the U.S. Table Tennis Association; they were the first Americans to visit the People's Republic as a group since 1949. The Chinese press gave low-keyed coverage to the trip, stressing that the invitation was an expression of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, and a forerunner of further exchanges. It was later announced that a Chinese table tennis team will tour the U.S., though no date was given.

* Three American newsmen were granted visas to cover the visit of the U.S. table tennis team. The Chinese government later gave a one month visa to Tilman Durdin of the New York Times; Mr. Durdin was the first American reporter admitted to China for regular news coverage in 20 years.

* The Republic of China's Ambassador to the U.S. said about these developments, "I hope the American people will not be fooled by the Communists' psychological warfare, and I hope the steps the United States has taken do not represent a drastic change in policy."

* An article in the Soviet journal Novoye Vremai (New Times) said that "The Peking leaders dream of triggering an armed clash, primarily between the two most powerful nations, the U.S.S.R. and the United States."

* The U.S. government ended the ban on travel to China by allowing the passport restrictions to expire. President Nixon also announced that: 1) designated non-strategic goods will be authorized for direct trade with China; 2) currency controls will be relaxed to permit the use of U.S. dollars in transactions with the Chinese; 3) U.S. oil companies may supply fuel to ships and planes traveling to and from China, except to Chinese chartered carriers bound to and from North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba; 4) visas for visitors from the P.R.C. to the U.S. will be expedited, and; 5) U.S. ships and aircraft may carry Chinese cargo between non-Chinese ports, and U.S. owned carriers flying foreign flags may call at Chinese ports.

* Indicating a more flexible U.S. position on the Taiwan issue, a State Department spokesman said that "In our view, sovereignty over Taiwan and the Pescadores is an unsettled question subject to future international resolution", but that a "possible way" to resolve the dispute "would be on the basis of agreements arrived at between the two governments." The statement provoked strong condemnation from both Peking and Taipei who agree that Taiwan ia a part of China.

* Apparently in consideration of warnings from the People's Republic, the U.S. government advised American oil companies not to continue exploration of the Tiao Yu Tai island area near Taiwan. The islands, which reportedly contain extensive underseas oil reserves, are claimed by Japan, Taiwan and the P.R.C.

* United Air Lines applied for permission to extend its route system to include Peking, Shanghai and Canton. Pan Am has also indicated an interest in extending its service to China.

* The People's Republic of China withdrew from membership in the International Lawn Tennis Federation after the organization admitted the tennis association of Taiwan. The U.S. Open tennis tournament had previously announced that it would invite China to participate in the tournament this September.

* Canada appointed Ralph E. Collins, a senior external affairs official, as its first Ambassador to Peking. Mr. Collins played a key role in the talks that led to the establishment of relations between the two countries. Huang Hua, one of China's most experienced diplomats, is the Ambassador-designate to Ottawa. Mr. Huang, who speaks fluent English, will take up his post in May.

* Kuwait and Cameroon formally established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

* The Japanese government indicated that a member of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party would visit the People's Republic later this year for talks on normalizing state relations. China also invited a delegation from the Australian opposition Labor party to Peking for similar talks.

* A message from Premier Chou En-lai to Yahya Khan expressed China's strong support for West Pakistan's efforts to preserve the country's unity, and warned India against intervention in the civil war.

* Britain and China resumed direct telephone communication after a break of 22 years. The telephone link, which operates between London and Shanghai, is open three hours a day. For the first time in almost three years, the People's Republic accepted a phone call from the United States.

china policy — which direction?

U.S. policy toward China has been under active review in Washington since last November when, for the first time, a majority in the U.N. General Assembly voted to seat The People's Republic. Recently, several Senators and private organizations have offered specific proposals as alternatives to past government policy as did President Nixon in his February 25 Foreign Policy address. The following proposals represent these major policy positions.

Richard Nixon, "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's", Feb. 25, 1971 (excerpts)

We are prepared to establish a dialogue with Peking. We cannot accept its ideological precepts. . . But neither do we wish to impose on China an international position that denies its legitimate national interests. . . . the United States is prepared to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations. . . . We will continue to honor our treaty commitments to our Asian allies. . . . Among these allies is the Republic of China. . . . For a number of years attempts have been made to deprive the Republic of China of its place as a member of the United Nations . . . We have opposed these attempts. We will continue to oppose them. . . . I will carefully examine what further steps we might take to create broader opportunities for contacts between the Chinese and American peoples . . .

Report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the 26th Anniversary of the United Nations, April 26, 1971 (excerpts)

However difficult the People's Republic of China's membership in the United Nations might become, the commission believes there is more hope for peace in its interaction in the organization than in its continued isolation from the

U.N. and from the United States. . . . Under no circumstances should the United States agree to the explusion of the Republic of China on Taiwan from the U.N. . . . This is not a question of dual representation for one China but the provision of two seats for two governments.

George Mc Govern, Senate Resolution 82, March 24, 1971 (abridged)

Whereas it is vital to international peace and prosperity that the People's Republic of China, the world's most populous nation, assume its rightful place in the community of nations, and

Whereas it is the declared policy of the United States to seek normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China: therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the Sense of the Senate that, at the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the United States should support a resolution acknowledging the fact that the People's Republic of China is the sole representative of China in the General Assembly, the Security Council, and all other organs of the United Nations.

It is further the Sense of the Senate that the President of the United States should seek negotiations toward the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and should announce that the United States is prepared, through such negotiations, to recognize the People's Republic as the sole legitimate government of China, leaving the future status of Taiwan to a peaceful resolution by the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

Mike Gravel, Senate Resolution 18, January 28, 1971 (abridged)

Whereas the People's Republic of China has, for more than twenty years, demonstrated its effective control of the 750,000,000 people on mainland China, representing 1/4 of the entire population of the world, and gives every indication of maintaining such control within the foreseeable future; and . . . .

Whereas the People's Republic of China has by its conduct demonstrated increasing willingness to join in both the concerns and activities of the world community of nations; and . . . .

Whereas the People's Republic of China will be admitted to membership in the United Nations within several years even as the sole representative of China and despite efforts of the United States to bar membership; and

Whereas the United States should exercise its influence in the United Nations through progressive leadership and should not subject itself, through inertia or attachment to the status quo of a vastly different and earlier era, to the role of follower, through a course of diplomatic humiliation; therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States inform both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China that it is not committed to the indefinite separation of Taiwan from mainland China, and that it shares the expressed interest of both governments in eventual reunification, and that it proposes that those governments attempt by and between themselves to reach a settlement of disputes dividing them and to seek means for accomplishing the eventual peaceful unification of the Chinese people; and be it further

Resolved, That the United States introduce in the twenty-sixth United Nations General Assembly a draft resolution proposing that the People's Republic of China be admitted to membership in the United Nations and all organizations related to it and that the United States should not seek to oppose . . . a determination by the U.N. membership and the U.N. secretariat with respect to the . . . Chinese seat in the Security Council.

Committee for a New China Policy, March, 1971

In order to move toward the new China policy we advocate, the government should:

1) Recognize that Taiwan is Chinese territory (as the United States did prior to the Korean War) and accept the position that, whatever the complexities of transition from the present political situation, the United States has no responsibility for determining the future status of Taiwan.

2) Adhere strictly to international law and refrain from intervention in China's internal

affairs; withdraw American forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan strait; and terminate all military, political and economic aid to Chinese Nationalist authorities.
3) End the current policy of military encirclement and trade embargo of China, and eliminate all punitive or discriminatory trade regulations.
4) Bring the American involvement in the Indochina War to a speedy and unconditional conclusion since the continuation of that involvement increases the possibility of war with China.
5) Acknowledge that the government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate representative of China in the United Nations and in all other international organizations.
6) Establish economic, social, cultural and diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-intervention in each other's affairs.

Citizens to Change U.S. China Policy, 1971

We advocate that the United States take the following steps:
1) End all trade embargoes and other discriminatory regulations which distinguish China from other Communist states.
2) Recognize that the future of Taiwan cannot properly be decided by the United States or by the imposition of force by any party.
3) Withdraw all American military bases and personnel from Taiwan and terminate assistance, direct and indirect, to the military establishment of the Republic of China.
4) Acknowledge that the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate representative of China in the United Nations and in all other international organizations.
5) Seek to establish economic, social, cultural, and diplomatic relations with the People's Republic on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect, and non-intervention in each other's affairs.

Frank Church and Charles Mathias, Joint House-Senate Resolution, February 23, 1971 (abridged)

Resolved . . . [that] the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution authorizing the President to employ the Armed Forces of the United States for protecting the security of Formosa, the Pescadores and related positions . . . is repealed. . . .

Committee of One Million, 1971

The Committee of One Million is a bipartisan coalition of citizens opposed to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. We believe that
. . . Nothing has changed the fact that there are no legal, moral or practical grounds for admission of Red China to the U.N.
. . . No benefits to world peace and stability would occur from admission of Red China to the U.N. and the losses would be certain and serious.
. . . If our concept of representative government is to have any meaning we must never accept as permanent any regime that enslaves human beings.
. . . Red China still fails to qualify for membership according to the U.N. Charter.

The Committee of One Million believes that admission of Peking could be the beginning of the end for the U.N. as an effective force for justice, freedom, stability and peace in the world. That would be bad enough. But admission would be worse for mankind because it would strengthen the already powerful forces in the U.N. that want to take over and use it as an instrument against freedom, justice, stability and peace.

* * *

u.n. draft resolutions

"Albanian Resolution", U.N. Draft Resolution A/L. 605, as voted upon Nov. 20, 1970

The General Assembly,
Recalling the principles of the Charter of the United Nations,
Considering that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is essential both for the protection of the Charter of the United Nations and for the cause that the United Nations must serve under the Charter,
Recognizing that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations,
Decides to restore all its rights to the Peoples's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the repre-

sentatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.

Draft Resolution prepared by Professor Roger Fisher of the Harvard Law School, and others, April 1967 (abridged)

Noting that the Chinese people wherever located, agree that China is a single state;

Recognizing that the People's Replic of China with its government in Peking is that state, and that the Autonomous Republic of Taiwan is a portion of that state;

Convinced that an orderly relationship between the government on Taiwan and the government of China will in due course be established through friendly negotiations and that in the meantime any use of military force by one against the other would be grossly inconsistent with the obligations of membership in the United Nations;

Confident that as soon as the government of China confirms that it will not use force to alter the situation on Taiwan, the United States will no longer find it necessary to retain military forces there;

Recalling the memberships within the United Nations of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. which demonstrate that independent representation in the General Assembly of an autonomous republic within a state is in no way inconsistent with the unity, integrity and membership of the larger state of which it forms a part. . .

Accepting the right of each government to determine the name by which it calls itself;

1. Invites the People's Republic of China to resume the appropriate representation of China at the United Nations and instructs the Credentials Committee to accept its representatives as the representatives of China.

2. Recommends that the Security Council, other organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies accept the credentials of the People's Republic of China as being those of the representatives of China;

3. Recommends that all members of the United Nations adjust their diplomatic representation to reflect the decision of the General Assembly that China is a single state and that the government in Peking is its government.

4. Instructs the Credentials Committee to accept the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China (Taiwan) as the credentials of the Autonomous Republic of Taiwan, a separate member of the United Nations, the territory of which is a portion of the larger member, China;

5. Recommends that, pending the reunification of China, other organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies accept the credentials of the Autonomous Republic of Taiwan, as those of a separate member of the United Nations or of the agencies concerned.

Draft Resolution prepared by the World United Formosans for Independence, 1970 (abridged)

The General Assembly,

Considering that self-determination is a fundamental principle of the United Nations and of World Order,

Recalling the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 . . . .

Recognizing that Formosa (Taiwan) is a former Japanese colony whose international legal status has been left undetermined by the post World War II Peace Treaty with Japan;

Deploring that the Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) regime had continued to occupy Formosa with neither international legal right nor the consent of the people of Formosa;

Noting with grave concern that the continued illegal occupation, neo-colonial domination, subjugation and exploitation of the people of Formosa by the Nationalist Chinese exiled regime contravene purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Confirms, That denying self-determination to the people of Formosa under the perpetual state of siege (martial law) constitutes a threat to the peace; That the legal, political and cultural status of Formosa are matters of international concern; That by virtue of the foregoing the plenary jurisdiction of the general Assembly is activated;

Recommends, That an internationally supervised plebiscite be held forthwith on Formosa (Taiwan) to resolve the indeterminate status of Formosa and to decide the form of government desired by the electorate people of Formosa;. . .

china resources

FORTHCOMING T.V. PROGRAM

"The Advocates" will present a 90-minute special on the question: "Should the U.S. accept Peking as the one government of China for all purposes?" The program will be broadcast nationally on June 8th, in New York on June 11th, and in Boston on June 4th. Check T.V.Guide for confirmation of date and time.

RECENT "CHINA CONVERSATIONS" INTERVIEWS

Three new half-hour tapes have been added to the National Committee's "China Conversations" series.

#18a--*Does the U.S. Have Moral Obligations to Taiwan?* With Mark Mancall, Professor of History at Stanford University.

#18b--*Is Taiwan an Obstacle to U.S.-China Relations?* With Edward Friedman, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin.

#19---*Hostage in Peking*, Anthony Grey, former Reuter's correspondent imprisoned in Peking for 26 months during the Cultural Revolution.

Please note: The Committee's Annotated Guide to Contemporary China (1971) is available for 50¢ per copy, plus 10¢ postage.

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

CHINA REPORT, New Delhi, Vol VI, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 1970.
Special Issue on India-China Relations.

CHINA AND RUSSIA: THE "GREAT GAME"
by O. Edmund Clubb, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, $12.95, August 1971.
A history of relations through the Cold War, emphasizing the period since 1850.

THE DYMANICS OF CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS
edited by Jerome A. Cohen, Cambridge, Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1970.
Six essays concerning China's relations with the U.S.S.R., India, Japan, the U.S., Africa and Latin America.

AMERICA'S ASIA: DISSENTING ESSAYS ON ASIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS
edited by Edward Friedman and Mark Selden, New York, Pantheon Books, 1971, $2.45.
Essays examining American academic research on Asia.

IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE: THE EVOLUTION OF CHINESE COMMUNISM
by James C. Hsiung, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970, $4.50.
An interpretation of Chinese Communism by an examination of its intellectual roots and practical functions.

INDIA'S CHINA WAR
by Neville Maxwell, New York, Pantheon Books, 1970, $10.00.
A new interpretation of the Sino-Indian border dispute.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM
U.S. Information Agency, Vol. XX, January-April, 1971.
Special issue entitled "Focus on Asia", with articles on the Sino-Soviet boundary dispute, and on contrasting views of China's foreign policy.

NATIONS IN DARKNESS: CHINA, RUSSIA, AMERICA
by John G. Stoessinger, New York, Random House, 1971.
A study of the role of misperception in international affairs.

COMMUNIST CHINA 1949-1969: A TWENTY YEAR APPRAISAL
edited by Frank N. Trager and William Henderson, New York, New York Univ. Press for the American-Asian Educational Exchange, 1970, $7.95.
Fourteen essays on China's political, economic and social development.

CHINA: MANAGEMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY
edited by John M.H. Lindbeck, Seattle, Univ. of Washington Press, $4.95, July 1971.
Essays by nine scholars working on separate but related aspects of Chinese leadership and institutions.

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